/347 cont./

433 between the reed beams. Once out of this region the ethnog-
218 rapher will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire
184 these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him,
[347] they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí
411 are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using
184 it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /344/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

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357 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shoot-
358 ing with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the
224 village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large
[126] bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I
280 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17
434 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaco SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/227 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

• [425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /la la raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII: in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

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6 Nordenskiöld--151 E-5 (1909-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Ee
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/301 cont./ Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee
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way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

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/302/ The uncertainty and the oppresive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

Ee
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If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.